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Berryman, D. (2016). Two Wiltshire Manors and their Manorial Buildings. *Wiltshire Archaeology & Natural History Magazine*, 109, 116-125.

Published in:
Wiltshire Archaeology & Natural History Magazine

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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Two Wiltshire Manors and their Manorial Buildings

by *Duncan Berryman*

This paper will explore how manorial accounts from the fourteenth century can be used by archaeologists to understand buildings that no longer survive. The long series of accounts of the Wiltshire manors of Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill provide an excellent basis for study. By using documentary sources, rather than archaeological ones, this paper suggests that it is possible to build a picture of the manorial buildings over time, as they change and are rebuilt. It is also possible to understand the wider estate of which the manor is part, and the economics of medieval building maintenance.

In 1989 D.L. Farmer published a paper in *Agriculture History Review* entitled ‘Two Wiltshire Manors and their Markets’. This paper revisits these manors and looks at them from an archaeological perspective. The present paper used the manorial accounts to study the economics of these two manors of Glastonbury Abbey, and how their produce was exported. However, there are more to the accounts than simply economics, and this paper will explore the information about the manorial buildings also contained within the accounts of these manors. Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill are a pair of manors situated in a narrow valley southeast of Longleat House and its demesne (Fig. 1). They were held by Glastonbury Abbey in the later Middle Ages and were managed to provide an income for the Abbey’s chamberlain. This paper highlights new research into the management of these manors and their buildings to show that they were organised as a single unit during the fourteenth century. This will be demonstrated by creating a picture of the buildings of the manorial curiae and considering the investment and maintenance of these buildings.

A current project is undertaking research into manorial accounts in order to understand the buildings of the manorial curiae and how they would have appeared to a visitor. It will also be possible to investigate the organisation of the estate, through the management of the manors and the buildings present in the curiae. The manorial accounts also facilitate an investigation of the economics of building maintenance and construction. (The convention of referring to the account year by the harvest year has been adopted for clarity in discussing the data from the accounts.)

The sources for this study are the manorial accounts of Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill, held in Longleat House and reproduced on microfilm. The volume of information about manorial buildings contained in the accounts was first demonstrated by Harvey’s work on the manor of Cuxham, Oxfordshire (Harvey 1965, 32–9). Harvey used the records of Merton College Oxford to investigate the buildings and layout of the curia. He demonstrated that the construction materials of the buildings are particularly informative. This methodology was adopted by Adams in her study

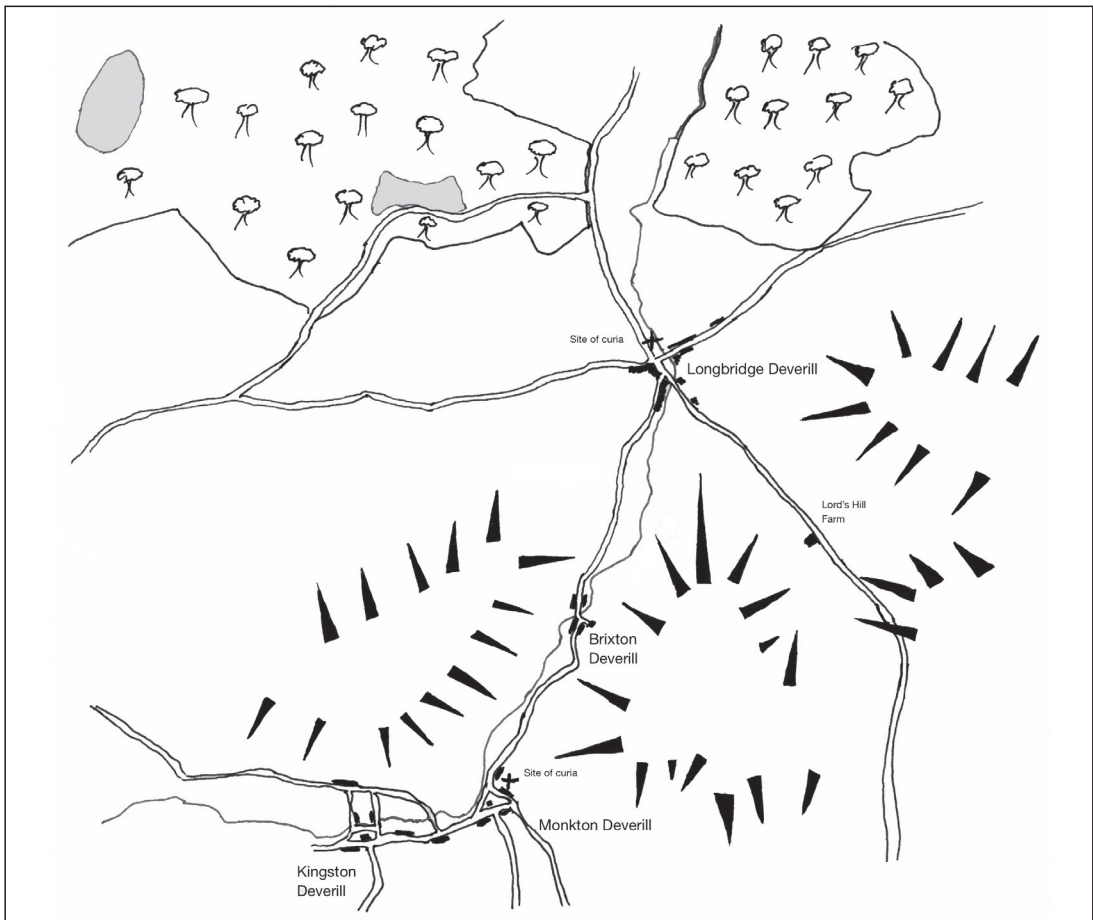


Fig. 1 Sketch map of Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill manors

of the Christ Church Priory, Canterbury's manor of Appledore, Kent (Adams 1993, 283–98). Adams, like Harvey, described the appearance of the buildings from the records of their maintenance, but she also went further to investigate how the manor was developed in the decades following the Black Death. The Winchester Pipe Rolls were used in a similar fashion by Phillpotts to reconstruct the curia of the manor of Highclere, Hampshire (Phillpotts 2000, 115–98). Unlike the works of Harvey and Adams, Phillpotts attempted to quantify the investment in building maintenance and construction by graphing the total expenditure of the manor against the receipts and rental income. The current paper and associated research project seeks to apply Phillpotts' methodology to a wider group of manors in order to look at patterns across England.

Geography

The landscape of Wiltshire is divided between two main regions: a band of chalkland stretching across the south and east of the county, and clay soils to the north and west (Hare 2011, 7). These contrasting landscapes have been described as chalk and cheese, as the chalklands are exceptionally prominent and the clay soils are used for dairy cattle and the production of cheese. The two manors under discussion were very close together, sharing the Wylve valley with a number of other manors – Hill Deverill and Brixton Deverill. The Wylve valley is one of the steep, narrow valleys of the Wiltshire chalkland; it is narrower to the south around Monkton Deverill and more open to the north at Longbridge Deverill, from where it

progresses to the rolling hills around the Longleat demesne (Farmer 1989, 3). The landscape around the manors was grass downland, which was perfect for sheep farming. With Longbridge lower in the valley, it would be expected that it was more accessible; however, Monkton was on a Roman road and was likely to have had good communications with other manors and towns such as Mere. The River Wylye was navigable below the manor of Longbridge Deverill, providing limited access by water for the transport of goods. These manors acted as a stopping point for the chamberlain of Glastonbury Abbey, on his journey to the St Giles' Fair at Winchester, where he purchased supplies for the brethren (Stacy 2001, 16).

History of the manors

Both manors once formed part of the Anglo-Saxon royal estate of Deverill, part of which was given to Glastonbury Abbey *c.*926 (VCH *Wiltshire* 19). The two manors remained in Glastonbury Abbey's possession until the Dissolution, when they passed to the Thynne family of Longleat. During the Middle Ages, the manors were held by the chamberlain of Glastonbury Abbey and the income from them was used to pay for monks' clothing and other supplies that the chamberlain had to provide. While these manors were always part of the same estate, they were not necessarily managed together. The heads of the accounts show that throughout the fourteenth century they both had the same bailiff, but they had individual reeves. The reeves may have shared agricultural resources and pasture, but they produced separate accounts and each manor held its own manorial court, although the court records were combined into a single roll with the chamberlain's other manor of West Monkton (Harris 1991, 6–20). The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey records that Longbridge and Monkton Deverill were given to the Abbey in the 10th century to provide clothes for the monks (Carley and Townsend 1985, 112–13). There was a large cloth industry in the area during the Middle Ages, particularly at Warminster, and this industry grew considerably in the post-medieval period (VCH *Wiltshire* 19). However, it is likely that the Chronicle meant that the income of these manors was to be used to pay for the habits, as it was known that the chamberlain bought cloth at the fairs of Winchester (Stacy 2001, 16). Pasture

farming was always more important at Monkton Deverill than at Longbridge Deverill, with lambs from Longbridge Deverill being fattened on the downs at Monkton Deverill (VCH *Wiltshire* 19). The arable production at Longbridge Deverill was more significant: the tenants were required to transport the grain to markets within a fifteen league radius (VCH *Wiltshire* 19; Farmer 1989).

Fourteenth-century economy of the manors

The fourteenth century is characterized by plague, famine and population reduction; this had economic and social consequences at all levels of society (Hare 2011, 1). Lords who felt pressurized by decreasing production, reduced rents and higher wages for agricultural workers, responded by changing their farming techniques from arable to pasture. However, many peasants could be optimistic after the Black Death as the relationship between lord and tenant changed and tenants could demand higher wages and better rent agreements. Thus the fourteenth century was a dynamic period of economic change for all of society.

The agriculture of both these manors was predominately sheep farming; the Down grassland landscape of these manors was particularly suited to grazing sheep (Table 1). Monkton Deverill had a much larger sheep flock, with between 500 and 1500 animals. The flock at Longbridge Deverill was always below 600 sheep. This may have been because Monkton was nearer the Wiltshire Downs and had access to more pasture. Of the other livestock on the manors, both had oxen and horses

Table 1 Table of the agriculture of Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill (all figures are averages taken from the fourteenth-century manorial accounts)

	Longbridge Deverill	Monkton Deverill
Wheat	58 acres	69 acres
Barley	47 acres	48 acres
Vetch	6 acres	5 acres
Oats	52 acres	42 acres
Rye	16 acres	–
Total arable	179 acres	164 acres
Horses	9	8
Oxen	16	17
Cattle	22	14
Pigs	41	–
Sheep	428	861
Poultry	68	58

to provide traction for the cart or plough. There was poultry on both manors, including chickens, capons and geese; Longbridge also had pigeons. There was additional livestock at Longbridge, in the form of cows and pigs; the cows would have provided milk and young oxen, while the pigs provided some meat.

The types of crops grown on both these manors were very similar. Wheat and barley formed the largest proportion of the area sown; oats and beans made up a much smaller part of the arable. The maximum cultivated acreage at Longbridge was 230 acres, while at Monkton it was 215 acres. The area of arable fluctuated on both manors over the century, but there was a clear decline in area under cultivation on Longbridge Deverill after the 1340s. The area sown with oats decreased on both manors from approximately 1350, while the areas of wheat and barley remained fairly consistent.

The sheep flocks of these manors also varied over the century. At Longbridge Deverill, the flock ranged from 282 sheep in 1370 to 541 animals in 1321 and was rarely larger than 400 sheep (Longleat NMR 9904 and 9646). The flock of Monkton Deverill was considerably larger, scarcely falling below 600 animals: it ranged from 555 to 1,200 sheep (Longleat NMR 9744 and 9727). In contrast to the crops, the sheep population increased in the latter half of the century; especially at Monkton Deverill, where it was higher than almost any other period since 1300. A larger proportion of the flock at Monkton Deverill was lambs, suggesting that this flock was being used to breed sheep more than at Longbridge Deverill, where older sheep predominated. The wool crop of both manors was often sold from Longbridge Deverill to a single merchant; some came from towns not far from the manors, but most were from within 15 leagues (Farmer 1989, 10). By the later fourteenth century, Wiltshire was the second largest producer of cloth, and the majority of this was marketed through Salisbury; this may explain the expansion of the sheep flock at Monkton Deverill during this period (Hare 2011, 152).

The change in the amount of land cultivated and the size of the sheep flocks can be compared to the income of these manors. Both manors show a fall in income after the Black Death. This was more pronounced at Monkton Deverill where income fell to the lowest level of the fourteenth century, whereas Longbridge Deverill's income c.1350 matched levels seen in the opening years of the 1300s. There were peaks in income at both manors

in the 1330s/1340s and 1360s, but also a decline in the 1370s. These peaks in income match with the most profitable periods of demesne farming and particularly reflect the "Indian Summer" of demesne agriculture in the later fourteenth century.

Manorial buildings

Each manor had a different range of buildings (Table 2). There are five building types normally found on a manor. These are crop-storage, animal housing, processing buildings, other structures, and domestic buildings. On a typical manor, there would be a number of buildings in each category, as each of these served a purpose in the management and operation of the manor.

There were a number of buildings found at both Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill, but there were also many significant differences between the two manors. The most common building type was crop-storage buildings such as barns and granaries. Both Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill had a number of barns for the storage of various crops, and both had a granary. Most of these buildings were timber-framed with wattle-and-daub walling; some, if not all, were cruck built, as the accounts record the repair of "big couples". There was some masonry in the granary at Longbridge Deverill. As granaries were more usually built of timber this may have been for a supporting wall (Longleat NMR 9885 and 9906). Granaries were often raised off the ground to prevent rodents getting access to the grain (McCann 1996, 1–28). The main variation in the construction materials of crop storage buildings is demonstrated by the barn at Longbridge Deverill. This building was constructed around 1300 from stone carried to the manor specifically for the purpose. The walls were 12ft high and possibly 4 perches in total length, suggesting that the building had a hipped roof, which was covered with lathes and overlaid with stone tiles. The cut stone and stone tiles could have been quarried locally, as stone was available within Wiltshire; but its use also emphasised the importance of the barn in manorial life. The barns on each manor were named for the crops that they were to store, such as wheat, rye, barley and hay. There has been some debate over whether these barns were actually used to store the crops that they were named after and whether the names were changed each year depending on the barn's

Table 2 Table of buildings found on Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill (based on data contained in the fourteenth-century manorial accounts)

	Longbridge Deverill	Monkton Deverill
Domestic Buildings	Hall Bailiff's Chamber Interior Chamber Chapel Solar Wardrobe Pantry & Buttery Latrine / Garderobe Woodward's building Famulus building	Hall Chambers - reeve & bailiff
Agricultural Storage Buildings	Barn Hay Barn Granary Rick - straw & fodder	Barn Hay Barn Granary Rick
Animal Housing Buildings	Oxhouse Sheephouse - Mansete, Blakelond, Clifheye, south field, Shete Sheephouse of the Ewes Stables Pighouse Chickenhouse Pinfold Sheepfold Dovecote	Oxhouse Sheephouse - Kuselegh, Hyle, Ewehouse, Clos, Hoggasterhouse, Weatherhouse Stable Pinfold Sheepfold
Processing Buildings	Kitchen Bakehouse Oven Dairy	
Other Structures	Gates Walls Cart Building Larder	Gates Walls/Palisade Cart Building Hedge/Ditch

contents (Peters 2009, 23–8).

Buildings for housing animals were the most numerous type of building present on these manors. As sheep were the most important aspect of the economy of both manors, sheephouses made up a substantial proportion of the buildings. Oxhouses and stables were present on both manors as these were required for the draught animals. Longbridge Deverill had a cowhouse and pigsty for its cow and swine herds. Like the barns, these manors gave names to the various sheephouses and stables. The names often indicated the location of the buildings, but more often they referred to animals. The sheephouses indicate that different types of sheep (ewes, wethers and hoggasters) were housed in each building; while cart horses and riding horses were housed in separate stables. All these buildings were timber-framed with wattle-and-daub walls. There is a reference in 1342 to the placing of stones “under the feet of the couples” in a new sheephouse at Longbridge Deverill, which suggests that it was a cruck building (Longleat NMR 10604). Only Longbridge Deverill kept pigeons, thus requiring a dovecote. Like the other

animal houses, the dovecote was timber-framed but was roofed with reed thatch rather than straw; materials that distinguished the dovecote from the other buildings. Research on other manors, particularly those of the royal estate of Holderness, has shown that only the manors which were visited by the lord were provided with a dovecote (TNA SC6/1079/17-SC6/1083/4). The fact that only Longbridge Deverill had a dovecote suggests that it was the only manor that hosted the chamberlain or his stewards.

Processing buildings and other structures of the manors served important roles, but made up a much smaller proportion of the manorial buildings. These classifications are being used to cover a range of buildings that had quite different functions. Processing buildings were used to convert raw materials into edible food stuffs or useful objects. The kitchen and bakehouse were the most commonly occurring buildings of this type on English manors, but there were also kilns, brew houses, forges, and smithies. The group of miscellaneous buildings classed under ‘Other structures’ includes the gates and walls of the

manor, carhouses, gatehouses, and bridges. These buildings demonstrate the biggest differences between the two manors. Both had walls, gates and carhouses, but only Longbridge Deverill had processing buildings. All these buildings had quite different construction materials. Most were thatched, with wattle-and-daub walls; but the processing buildings deviated from this pattern. The kitchen of Longbridge Deverill had timber-framed walls with wattle-and-daub infill, but the roof was tiled to prevent, in case of fire, flames spreading to the rest of the curia. Often the walls of the manor were recorded as having been roofed with thatch. Walls are likely to have been constructed from earth surmounted by thatched roofs in order to prevent rain falling on top of the wall, causing it to weaken and collapse.

The most important buildings of the manor were obviously the domestic buildings. Traditionally these comprised a hall, chapel and chambers; but, like the processing building, Monkton Deverill lacked a chapel and had two chambers. The hall at Monkton Deverill was timber-framed and roofed with thatch, whilst that of Longbridge Deverill, constructed in 1299, was masonry and roofed with stone tiles. The walls of the hall were 8 perches long and 12 feet high and were probably constructed from local stone, as there was no payment recorded for the transport of the stone (Longleat NMR 9631). There was a chamber with a solar over it at one end of the hall; external stairs led to the solar and were accessed from a door in the hall. It is possible that the solar had a timber gallery overlooking the hall. The hall was entered through two doors, probably within the cross passage, and was lit by twelve windows, three of which had two-leaf shutters. This suggests that the hall was composed of three bays, each with four windows or two two-light windows. A chimney or flue was constructed over the fire; this was possibly a more substantial structure than the ventilator that was repaired in the hall of Monkton Deverill in 1328 (Longleat NMR 10616). The chapel of Longbridge Deverill also had stone walls and was roofed with stone tiles. In contrast to the hall, the windows were glazed, rather than being fitted with simple shutters (Longleat NMR 9901 and 9903). Longbridge Deverill had a range of chambers for the lord and the manorial officials – the bailiff, reeve and woodward. Chambers were only provided for the bailiff and the reeve at Monkton Deverill. Some of the Longbridge Deverill chambers were of masonry with a stone tile roof, but others, including the chambers at

Monkton Deverill, were timber-framed and roofed with thatch. Alongside the hall, chambers and chapel, Longbridge Deverill had a larder, a cellar, a buttery and a pantry; the buttery and pantry would have been connected to the lower end of the hall, adjacent to the entrances.

The fact that processing buildings and a dovecote were only found at Longbridge Deverill indicates that it was only at this manor that the chamberlain and his steward stayed. The presence of a hall and chambers at Monkton Deverill suggests that the court and audit were held at the manor, but only the reeve or bailiff lived in the chamber in the curia. By contrast, the large domestic complex at Longbridge Deverill was clearly constructed to provide comfortable accommodation for the chamberlain as he journeyed to Winchester, and for the steward when he visited the manors. Each manor had a reeve and both were overseen by a bailiff; thus the reeve's chamber was a necessary building; although the reeve probably also had a tenement in the village. The hall was an essential building for the administration of the manor; each manor needed a hall to hold the audit and manorial court, and to store records of the manor necessary for these occasions.

There was a range of building materials used on the manors. The majority of buildings were timber framed with wattle-and-daub walls, and roofed with straw thatch. A small number of buildings were stone built, such as the hall and barn of Longbridge Deverill, and others were roofed with stone tiles. The granaries of both manors were also roofed with tiles, possibly as a way of maintaining dry storage conditions for threshed grain. Tiles also appear to have been used to roof the stable and oxhouse, although tiles are only specifically mentioned in repairs to the oxhouse in 1365 (Longleat NMR 10609 and 10693). Most of these materials were found on the manor or available a short distance from the manor. The wattle-and-daub and straw thatch were easily repaired at a relatively low cost. Hare notes the availability of building stone in the Wiltshire landscape, but wood was the most accessible construction material (Hare 2011, 168). Fourteenth-century Wiltshire also saw the development of a clay tile industry, with floor tile production occurring at Chippenham and Claredon, and roof tiles at Alderbury (Hare 2011, 168). Therefore, the materials used in the construction of the buildings at Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill can be regarded as being typical of those in the county

at that time. Stone and stone tiles were usually reserved for higher status buildings due to the high cost of transport. Stone buildings would also have appeared very different from other buildings in the curia and the rest of the village. The accounts also suggest that the dovecote at Longbridge Deverill was a stone construction; it was definitely roofed with tiles during the fourteenth century. It is likely that this dovecote was similar to the one constructed at Wellow, Worcestershire in 1376; this was a circular stone building roofed with tiles (TNA SC6/975/4). Similar structures can be seen at Wick Farm Lacock and Misons Farm South Wraxall, both in Wiltshire; other examples from the medieval period survive mainly in the Welsh borders and south Wales (McCann and McCann 2011, 89 and 116; Hansell and Hansell 1988, 63–76). The construction of these dovecotes in stone suggests that they were viewed as being equal in status to the domestic buildings.

Investment in buildings

On Longbridge Deverill, expenditure on building maintenance was below 25s. in the majority of years, but there were large peaks in 1300 and in the 1360s. There was also considerable variation in the level of annual expenditure on maintenance, the average was 17s. 4d. and ranged from 4d. in 1354 to £4 16s. 7½d. in 1300. The expenditure on maintenance at Monkton Deverill was mainly below 16s. 8d., with large peaks in 1300, 1339 and 1348. There was less variation in the expenditure on Monkton Deverill, with the average being 13s. 9d. and ranging from 16d. in 1336 to £2 4s. 5d. in 1339.

Longbridge Deverill had the highest investment in new buildings, with the construction of the new hall in 1299 and a new barn in 1300. The cost of construction may indicate the relative size of a building. The new hall cost £10 10s. 10½d. in 1299 in comparison to an oxhouse constructed in 1318 that cost £19 5s. 1½d. Similarly, the outlay for the construction of the barn in 1300 was, at £28 10s. 6½d., more than twice that of the hall, indicating that the barn was a significantly larger building than the hall. There was a gatehouse and sheephouse constructed at Longbridge Deverill, along with a new oven and pinfold. The majority of new buildings were constructed before 1320, with only a sheephouse erected in 1342 and gatehouse in 1372. By contrast, Monkton Deverill

had a considerable number of low-cost buildings, particularly sheephouses, constructed throughout the century. There were at least three sheephouses built and a further four unidentified buildings, some of which may have also been sheephouses. In 1372 the granary appears to have been taken from Longbridge Deverill and re-erected at Monkton Deverill. A hay barn was constructed in 1326 at the cost of 17s. 6d. The highest expenditure on a building at Monkton Deverill was £28 6s. for the construction of a new barn in 1319, which was larger than that of Longbridge Deverill and possibly of a raised cruck construction.

Repairs to the roofs of buildings was the most common type of maintenance across the century, with at least one entry in the accounts every year for some form of roofing work being carried out. Each building was not roofed every year, but on average about every five years. We can also see that only areas of the thatched roof were patched, as thatchers were only employed for a few days at a time; this is in contrast to the modern practice of stripping off the upper layers and re-thatching the whole roof. It would be expected that investing more in a tiled roof would mean that it needed less maintenance, but this was not true. The stone tile roofs needed as much maintenance as the thatch, and each repair cost more as, in addition to the tiler's wages, tiles, lime, laths, and nails had also to be purchased. The considerably higher investment in stone tile roofs must reflect the buildings' status, as it cannot have been cost effective to maintain such buildings. Amongst the other forms of maintenance that were carried out, repairs to the carpentry of doors and windows predominate. These were probably the parts of the buildings that received the most damage during their every day use and it is therefore understandable that they needed to be replaced or repaired regularly. A less common form of maintenance encountered was repair to the sill walls. There are references to the replacement of groundsills in walls and even of the saddle pads and crucks in the barn being changed (Longleat NMR 9905). The large timber component in most buildings makes it hard to interpret references in the accounts to carpentry repairs or the employment of a carpenter, as this could be work to the walls or the roof, but it is clear that most of the buildings on these manors had major maintenance on their timber framing at least once during the fourteenth century, and some required more frequent repairs.

Landscape

It is evident that nothing of these medieval buildings remains in the landscape of the Wylle valley. The early Ordnance Survey maps show the site of the curia of Longbridge Deverill to the north of the church. There are a number of farms called 'Manor Farm' in the area. These are significant farms in comparison to those surrounding them; thus they must represent the other manors which held land in the parish. The site indicated as the curia at Longbridge Deverill is within a field that is flat to the east towards the river, but rises steeply towards the road in the west. This terrain confines the manorial curia to the area beside the river, and probably means that it extended to the north, possibly forming multiple courtyards. The current path that passes through the church enclosure, east of the church, and on through the manor field is associated with the original entrance to the curia. This may also suggest that the approach was not along the current A350, but closer to the river; the current road to the west of the church and manor climbs the valley slope. To the southeast of Longbridge Deverill, and on the slopes of the downs, is a farmstead known as Lord's Hill Farm. The location and name of this farm makes it likely that this was one of the sheephouses of Longbridge Deverill; this is supported by research for the Victoria County History (VCH *Wiltshire* 19). The sheephouses were complexes of buildings used to house sheep throughout the winter (Dyer 1996, 136-8). The position of Lord's Hill Farm places it in the most suitable lands for grazing sheep; some of the other earthworks in the fields to the east may have been further sheephouses.

The site of Monkton Deverill's manorial curia is clearer, as there is only one farm named 'Manor Farm' on the early OS maps. These maps and the current building arrangement indicate that the buildings may once have formed a courtyard. The current house on the site is post medieval, but is likely to have replaced the medieval hall. The barns and other buildings have also been replaced in the post medieval period, but if they have reused similar footings, then the courtyard may have been behind or beside the hall as it was approached from Longbridge Deverill. Today, Monkton Deverill is well developed, with properties along almost all of the three roads of the village, but the early OS maps show mainly the northern road as having properties. This suggests that the village developed

beside the manorial curia, and between it and the church, similar to many other medieval villages.

Discussion

We can see that the manorial buildings reflect the agricultural specialism of each manor; if the economy of the manor changed, then the buildings were adapted to accommodate their new functions. It is also possible to see how the manors differed in their provision of domestic accommodation. Longbridge Deverill was clearly the only manor to accommodate the chamberlain of Glastonbury Abbey or other guests, as Monkton Deverill lacked a kitchen and other necessary buildings.

The appearance of the buildings of the curia can be interpreted from the accounts of their maintenance. The majority of buildings had walls of wattle-and-daub and roofs of straw thatch, thus they would have appeared similar to peasant buildings in the village. Most of the buildings would therefore have had brown coloured walls and a yellow-brown roof, possibly with the addition of green moss and grass where the thatch had not been replaced. In contrast to these agricultural buildings were the stone buildings of the barn, hall and dovecote. The two largest buildings within the curia were built of stone and roofed with tiles; a visitor could not help but notice that these buildings looked different and were therefore more important than the other agricultural structures. The dovecote was also a building of considerable size and was recognised as a status symbol in medieval England, as it represented the lord's authority over his tenants (Bailey 2012, 230-4). Therefore, the key buildings within the curia were visually differentiated for the visitors and designed to display the lord's authority to everyone who entered the farmstead.

The accounts reveal that the manor was willing to constantly invest in the maintenance of the buildings and that the chamberlain was prepared to reduce his income in order to carry out repairs or undertake new building project. The account of the construction of a barn at the Glastonbury Abbey manor of Street reveals the construction costs and shows how other manors of the estate paid for the work (Bridge and Dunning 1981, 120). The work at Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill was all paid for by the manor, but the estate committed a significant amount of resources to Longbridge Deverill in 1299 and 1300 for the construction

of a new barn and hall (Longleat NMR 9631 and 10705). The largest investment in maintenance was for roofing. Repairs to thatching and tiling were required almost every year, with the individual roofs of many buildings needing patching approximately every five years. The accounts also reveal that the construction of a new building did not mean that the manorial officials were free from repairs for a number of years; many new buildings required roofing repairs within a few years of their erection. Therefore, the estate managers recognised that the manorial buildings required constant expenditure and maintenance to keep them functioning as agricultural and domestic structures.

The importance of the local landscape is clear from the construction and maintenance of the manorial buildings. The building materials were often acquired from within the manor or purchased from neighbouring areas. This parallels with Farmer's findings for the distance that grain was taken to market; the accounts show that nearer markets were by far the most common destination for the manors' produce. These manors were not designed for the entertainment of large households or great visits by nobility. The most frequent visitors were the manor's tenants and merchants who came to negotiate trade, as Farmer demonstrated in relation to the sale of wool (Farmer 1989, 7–10). Thus these buildings were constructed as a display to the local villagers and tenants of the manors. Like most manors, it was the local people who were the intended audience for these buildings, and they would be the ones who were most exposed to their architecture.

In conclusion, this paper attempted to recreate the manorial buildings of Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill, and to increase our understanding of medieval manors. We have seen how the manorial accounts can be used to reveal the appearance of the buildings within the curia. Longbridge Deverill highlights how landscape shaped the location of the curia, but it also influenced the appearance of the buildings. The barns and hall were constructed from local stone and roofed with local stone tiles; the wattle-and-daub and thatch buildings were also constructed from local materials, using whatever was available on the manor. The buildings and history of these manors reveal the management structure of part of the Glastonbury Abbey estate. These two manors were given to the chamberlain for practical reasons and they may have shared some agricultural resources, but they were always two distinct manors, with their

own reeves and accounting to the Abbey separately. Longbridge Deverill provided hospitality for the chamberlain and his steward when they travelled, while Monkton Deverill was devoted to agriculture and sheep farming. The accounts of these manors have been able to show us how they were managed and how they appeared to visitors. When we combine the building information with the estate structure, we can see why there was such a large investment in buildings at Longbridge Deverill and lower investment at Monkton Deverill. These new stone buildings provided comfortable accommodation for the chamberlain as he travelled on behalf of the Abbey and indicated the manor's wealth to anyone who entered the curia. However, as with Farmer's research, we see the importance of the local landscape and the local community in the provision of materials and in experiencing the manorial buildings.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Prof. Bruce Campbell for making the accounts of these manors available to me for this study, and to Virginia Bainbridge for allowing me to see drafts of the relevant parts of the VCH. I am also very grateful to Dr Mark Gardiner for our extensive discussions about these manors.

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Victoria County History (VCH) *Wiltshire* Vol. 19